The 'internationalisation of public schooling' in practice: A 'Skeptical Reality' approach

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Introduction and context

The 'Internationalisation of Higher Education' is well discussed, and relatively well theorised. An established model (e.g. Knight, 2004) identifies four distinct strategies, in practice. These involve: governance; operations; support services; and human resource development. Yemini (2013 p.475) has offered an adjusted model for application in the context of 'public schooling': governance; curriculum; operations (activities); and support services.

My chapter will deal specifically with the 'curriculum' aspect of this broad framework, and the somewhat unexpected and largely under-reported entry into the public schooling sphere, in some nation-states, of the programmes of the International Baccalaureate (IB), beyond the traditional, core base of 'pioneer' private international schools' (see Bunnell, 2013). This phenomena has particularly involved the IB's 'flagship' Diploma Programme (IBDP) but the Middle Years Programme (MYP) and the Primary Years Programme (PYP) are also involved.

It is worth saying a little more at this point about the IB. At the heart of all the IB programmes lays the under-researched concept of 'International Mindedness' (IM: see Hill, 2012). IM is a key and deliberately-placed component of international curricula such as the International Primary Curriculum (IPC), the first curriculum designed to incorporate IM (see Bunnell, 2010a), but especially the programmes of the IB which encapsulate IM in practice (see Barratt Hacking et al, 2018) alongside other 'useful' 21st Century skills and attitudes such as inquiry, critical-thinking and risk-taking (the essence of the ten-attribute 'IB Learner Profile').

The strength of the IB programmes is shown by Carder's (2009 p.101) proposal that 'the IB student profile may be an important preliminary consideration for any school aspiring to an international identity'. The IB, with an ambitious irenic-based mission dating its origins back to a peak-Cold War period, celebrated its 50th Anniversary as a Geneva-registered entity in 2018 and its continued global dominance as a provider of educational services (assessment, curricula, research, resources and teacher training) adds to the substantial argument that 'current internationalisation practices continue to embed the North/South divide' (Maxwell, 2018 p.347).

My chapter will use the growth of the IB programmes in public schools in areas as diverse as Chicago, Ecuador, and Japan to empirically show that although it is argued (Yemini, 2015) that internationalisation practices across the world will lead to different outcomes, and there is 'no one consensual path' (Yemini and Fulop, 2015 p.531) to accomplish it, one can, in fact, identify certain trends. The distribution of scarce educational resources to benefit mainly the urbanised middle-class is a key aspect of IB programme implementation in public schools, and this presents a critical issue requiring on-going investigation. Does any process of internationalisation directly benefit or involve rural public schools?

In particular, my chapter will offer an original, skeptical perspective, building upon Maxwell's (2018 p.353) view that a critical lens of analysis is required when viewing how 'effectively and deeply internationalisation is seeping into national (or sub-national) educational spaces.' It will seek to show that in practice the extent of contact between the IB and public schooling is relatively scarce, small-scale, minimally-funded and -prioritised (I have called it 'triaged' before: see Bunnell, 2011).

The story of the implementation of the IB programmes in general, across various parts of the world, shows that the 'internationalisation of public schooling' seems, on paper, as being a 'massification' process yet in reality contact is focused and filtered to directly benefit a relatively small number of (urban-based) children who can potentially, and quickly, become 'globalised workers'. At the same time, there is scope for a filtering-down, perhaps unintentionally, of indirect benefits across the education system more generally. I offer this two-tiered framework for further investigation, and comparative research. In particular, I will also develop a 'Skeptical Reality' framework, which could be utilised in other contexts beyond the scope of the IB, to be explored next.

The 'Skeptical Reality' framework

This prioritizing of resources, benefitting and involving a minority of society, offers scope for a eptical' approach to be deployed. Several globalisation models appeared in the 1980s and 1990s, based on the notion that there have been 'waves' of thought (Martell, 2007). It became normal in globalisation literature (e.g. Holton, 2005) to identify three distinct waves of thought, as developed in 'The Three Approach Model' (Held et al, 1999), where a 'Skeptical' approach can be seen as the second wave, following on from the initial 'Hyperglobalist' approach. A third, 'Transformationalist' view subsequently appeared, offering a view that was middle-way.

This well-established globalisation framework offers a useful reference point for studying the topic of the growth of the IB programmes in public schools. It has previously been used by commentators on the growth and development of the IB programmes (e.g. Walker, 2000). It is commented that the three approaches 'serve as a useful analytical tool' for analysing globalisation trends in education (Tikly, 2001 p.152).

The 'Hyperglobalist' approach would see the movement of the Geneva-registered IB into public schooling as a process of the 'Westernisation of education', imposing Western-Liberal-Humanistic values and potentially undermining the nation-state, where the educating of the national-citizen is normally viewed as a priority. The 'Transformationalist' approach would identify the spread of the IB in public schooling as a process of indoctrination, aiming to impose universal-values and deliberately transform the national-citizen into a global-citizen. This is the essence of the 'culture war' attack on the IB in the USA (see Bunnell, 2009).

The 'Skeptical' approach identifies regional rather than global trends, and rejects the notion (myth) that national-identity or sovereignty is under threat, or a mass process of indoctrination is occurring. Instead, this approach identifies how nation-states are harnessing globalising trends and developments in order to deliberately promote nationally set goals. In other words, the IB has not imposed or forced itself into public schools but has been selected, and invited to enter the national arena. For instance, the IB has been proposed as a possible 'rescuer' of Thai public schooling, especially as plans in 2015 were put forward there to focus on social studies, and history, strong elements of the IBDP (Daniel Maxwell, 2015). A framework for identifying this approach in practice comes from the comment that 'it has been acknowledged that the role of the nation state remains central to global education initiatives' (Engel and Siczek, 2017 p.2). In other words, the nation-state remains in control and usually operates a policy of directing and prioritizing the action.

Further, the 'Skeptical' approach would identify a small-scale level of activity, rejecting the notion that the whole of society is being affected. In particular, it would see developments as being mainly aimed at, and involving, urbanised areas with large swathes of the nation being un-affected or un-involved. This gives the 'Skeptical' approach an arguably more realistic dimension when studying the expansion of the IB in public schooling where it largely occupies an urbanised-space. This requires a prioritizing, or rationing, of resources which inevitably will lead to challenges and tensions, favouring particular

sections of society who are well-positioned to benefit from it. As noted by Claire Maxwell (2018 p.348): 'Internationalisation practices within education are shown to offer yet a further mechanism for distinction-making and positively privileged particularly those who are economically-wealthy.'

I will next apply this 'Skeptical Reality' approach to study the effects of the imposition of the IB in several countries where growth in public schooling has been quite prevalent, involving what seems, at first glance, to be a mass process involving many children yet in reality lacks depth both within and across nations-states, and involves relatively little financial support.

The lack of access in reality

The enormous global disparities

The bedrock of my application of the 'Skeptical Reality' approach is the fact that the IB does not have the scope of global exposure to public schooling that many observers might believe or sense. At first glance, the IB seems well-entrenched in public schools globally yet the truth of the matter is that access is heavily skewered towards the USA, and Canada. In October 2018, the IB had 5,251 fully-authorised schools worldwide. Of these, 55% (2,882) are public schools. This is down slightly from 57% in 2010 (Hill, 2011 p.122). Of the public ones, 61% (1,758) are in the USA, and Canada has a further 11 % (315). In other words, North America accounts for 72% of the IB's public schools. Moreover, 89% of the IB schools in the USA are public. This is down slightly from 91% in 2010 (Hill, 2011 p.123). Ecuador has a further bloc of 204 public schools, and Australia has 69 public schools delivering IB programmes.

In stark contrast, my paper on the dearth of the IB across Africa (Bunnell, 2016) had revealed how the IB at that time had just 77 member-schools in only 25 African nations, which represented together a mere 1.8% of world activity. Moreover, the entire Continent of Africa has no public schools delivering IB programmes, as acknowledged by the IB itself: 'Where governments are struggling to meet millennium development goals, there is no access to IB programmes in state schools at all; this is the case in Africa' (Guy 2011, p.149).

Of the biggest localities in terms of IB activity in 2018, India also has zero public schools delivering IB programmes, China has 23, and the United Kingdom (UK: although mainly in England) has 33, revealing that in most nation-states the IB operates largely in private/independent school settings. By contrast, California had 185 public schools delivering an IB programme, Texas has 176, whilst Florida has 153. There are other small 'pockets' of public schooling activity e.g. Sweden has 35, and Peru has 27. At the other extreme, France has two public schools and Italy has another two. Mexico has four.

In addition, areas within some nation-states have no IB public schooling activity e.g. New South Wales, and Northern Territory, and Tasmania in Australia has no IB public schools. Northern Ireland has no IB activity at all. A number of other nations have a solitary IB public school, including Chile, Iceland, Iran, Israel, Serbia, and Slovakia. Alongside India (and Africa), several more nations have zero public schools involved in IB delivery, including Albania, Armenia, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Czech Republic, Indonesia, Korea, Kuwait, Lebanon, Malta, Myanmar, Nigeria, Panama, Philippines, Portugal, Romania, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Vietnam.

Put simply, in 2018 there are at least 53 nations where there exist authorised 'IB World Schools' yet zero public schooling activity, whilst four nations (Australia, Canada, Ecuador and the USA) account for 81% (2,346 schools) of the IB's overall body of public schools. This is an enormous, and widening, polarisation. In most parts of the world, the IB (still) operates out of a traditional, private and relatively elite schooling mode of activity.

The key point to observe here is that large areas of the world are seemingly focused on delivering a wholly national-focused education for their national-citizens, and delivering a national-curriculum. Put another way, in many nation-states access to an 'internationalised' form of education seemingly remains the preserve of (elite, expensive, selective) private schooling, and involves those who presumably can most afford it.

The distribution within nations

The 'Skeptical Reality' approach can be applied within a nation. The story of the huge, sudden growth of the IB in Ecuador acts as a good example of how distribution within national contexts tends to be rationed. The first IB public school had appeared in December 2003 in the capital city, Quito. The subsequent growth can be broken down into two phases, beginning when the Ecuadorian Ministry of Education drew up the *Ten Year Education Plan in Ecuador 2006-2015*, aimed at increasing high school enrolment to 75% (Barnett, 2013). In February 2006 the Ministry signed the Memorandum of Mutual Commitments with the IB, which agreed to support having one IBDP school in each of the nation's 24 administrative provinces ('provincias'). Schools were 'hand-selected as having strengths that would allow them to be educational leaders' (Barnett, 2013 p.12).

The goal was to 'elevate the academic and humanistic preparation of young people' (Barnett, 2013 p.12). Critically speaking, this sentence might have added '*some* young people spread *across* the nation' rather than implying an inclusive, broad-based process. The phenomenon of IB public schools being rationed within a nation was exemplified by the initial developments in Ecuador. Consequently, it was said in 2011 that '15 state schools now offer the IBDP in 15 different provinces throughout the country' (Hill, 2011 p.123).

It is worth noting that all the schools involved in the first phase were distributed evenly across Ecuador, beyond Quito. This fits well with Maxwell's (2018) view that 'internationalisation has led to further stratification of local, national, regional' systems of education. The second phase, beginning in late-2012 was 'on a different scale' (Barnett, 2013 p.3) but had a similar geographical, and stratification theme. The plan was for 120 new IBDP schools each year, of which half would be in the coastal region ('La Costa') and half in the highlands region ('La Sierra'). The selection process was more formal, guided by a set of criteria including 'the presence of stable, experienced directors, geographical distribution and existing infrastructure' (Barnett, 2013 p.12).

This fragmentation process has been noted elsewhere. Kotzbya *et al* (2018) show how secondary education in Germany is being fundamentally re-shaped by 'Internationalisation at Home' (Nilsson, 2003) processes, in particular by the 'promotion of the IB Diploma, usually only found in state-funded institutions based in urban centres'. This issue, of dominance in 'urban centres', has been noted in Australia where research has found that 'access to IB schools in Australia is largely limited to families who reside in large cities' (Dickson, Perry, and Ledger, 2017 p.75). Indeed, it was concluded that 'most IB schools are located in Australia's capital cities' (Dickson, Perry and Ledger, 2017 p.71). This evidence, from Australia, backs my assertion that the 'internationalisation of public schooling' is largely an urban-based phenomenon, spread among cities, and rarely involving rural communities.

It is noted that 'the literature suggests notable tensions in the various rationales for internationalising education' (Engel and Siczek, 2017 p.2). Here we have another set of tensions, focusing on geographical access in particular: promoting wide access across the entire nation versus prioritizing and rationing access in urban settings.

The lack of depth in reality

The lack of depth in terms of the IB's contact with students in schools, in reality, is well exemplified in Chicago, where the IB has on paper a considerable presence. In fact, in 2018 Chicago Public Schools

had the United States' largest network of 'IB World Schools', with a total of 56 (22 high schools and 34 elementary schools) serving 16,000 students across the city. The number of students taking the IBDP examinations in Chicago has grown from 740 in 2011, to 2,006 students in 2017 (source: Office of the Mayor Press Release, 27 March 2018). The growth of the IB programmes in Chicago's public schools is seen as partly a policy reaction to dealing with external factors such as immigration and poverty (Shipps, Kahne and Smylie, 1999; Lipman, 2004), especially the high drop-out rate in Chicago's High Schools. One study (Saavedra, 2014) shows the IBDP in Chicago has been 'a cost-effective way to increase high school graduation rates.'

However, the scale of activity there needs to be put into perspective; Chicago Public Schools serves 371,000 students in 646 schools, and is the USA' third-largest school district. It has been correctly noted that: 'While seven Chicago high schools offer a complete IB curriculum, eight offer a portion of the program. Chicago schools that offer IB serve more than 15,000 students, a fraction of the school system's total enrollment' (Corfman, 2014, April 21: at www.chicagobusiness.com). Thus, we can deduce that only about 4% of children in Chicago's relatively extensive body of 'IB World Public Schools' have access to any form of IB education. In this context, the process of IB delivery in public schools can still be firmly identified as an 'elitist' once involving severely limited access.

Moreover, many IB schools enter a very small number of students in examinations, showing the extent to which many schools ration the IBDP to involve only a few students. This is particularly telling in the November exam session, delivered by the substantially smaller bloc of 'IB World Schools' in the Global South (whilst the Global North-based schools undertake the May exam session). Official IB statistical bulletins (see www.ibo.org) show that in November 2017, 75% of schools (752 out of 1,079) entered less than 10 candidates. In May 2017, 29% of schools (780 out of 2,666) entered less than 20 candidates. All these figures have been very consistent since 2013. Overall, 30% of all schools in 2017 entered less than 10 candidates.

It is worth focusing on Ecuador, as a case study of this activity in reality. Ecuador in 2017 had 271 'IB World' schools (270 offering the DP), representing the third largest bloc of schools in the world, behind the USA and Canada. In 2017, Ecuador had 2,792 candidates in the November session (out of a total 16,535). This was biggest bloc of candidates in that exam session. Ecuador had a further 3,059 candidates in the May session (out of 157,488). This was the eighth biggest bloc of students submitted for the IB overall in 2017, dwarfed by the United States' 85,508 candidates. Thus overall, Ecuador in 2017 had 5,851 candidates out of a combined examination session 174,023 (i.e. Ecuador 'housed' only 3.4% of the global total, yet had 8% of all DP schools). Put another way, Ecuador's 270 schools offered an average of 22 candidates per school (with the rest doing solely the Bachillerato High School Programme).

However, not all these candidates were sat in public schools. Of the 270 schools in Ecuador, 66 are private/'International' schools. In other words, 204 public schools delivered the IBDP. The point to observe here is that many of the 5,851 candidates that sat the DP exams in both sessions in 2017 were 'housed' in private schools such as Academia Cotopaxi American International School, the first school in Ecuador to deliver the IB, in 1981. Another way of viewing this data is to identify that the UK's dwindling bloc of 110 DP schools 'offered' 4,728 candidates in the May 2017 exam session (i.e. an average of about 40 candidates per school). In other words, the UK-based schools offered more candidates than Ecuador (overall, and per school), yet had 160 less schools. Put simply, beneath the surface in Ecuador's public schools there is a lot less activity than at first envisaged.

The mechanisms of implementation

The low levels of funding

The 'Skeptical Reality' analysis can be continued in terms of public-funding. Comparative education studies (e.g. Resnik, 2016) show that the introduction of the IB programmes differs from country-to-country and is dependent upon the prevailing 'institutional assemblage'; in Argentina and Chile, for example, the growth is led by IB-private school assemblage, but in Ecuador, Japan, and the USA it is led by an IB-government assemblage.

In fact, very few governments directly support the IB and it tends to involve relatively small grants of money. Data can be garnered from the IB's *Annual Reviews* (available at https://www.ibo.org/about-the-ib/facts-and-figures/ib-annual-review/). In 2015, four nations financially directly supported the IB: Germany, Norway, Japan, and Malaysia. However, in 2016 and 2017 only Germany and Japan had supported the IB. The Malaysian Government (AIM Agency) in 2014 gave the IB a fund of USD 0.8m, to help prepare 10 government secondary schools in Malaysia to successfully implement the IB Middle Years Programme (IBMYP). Malaysia had given USD 1.5m in 2013 to support the same project. Japan in 2014 had given USD 0.5m.

The United States began tax-payer funding the IB programmes in 2003, when a sum of USD 1.17m was given to six middle-years schools in Arizona, Massachusetts and New York to become 'feeder schools' for the DP in low-income school. This was supplemented in September 2006 with a further grant of USD 1.08m targeted at 50 DP schools (Bunnell, 2012 p.70.). In 2006 the UK Prime Minister Blair had announced GBP 2.5m worth of funding, for which 124 state schools in England could apply through their Local Education Authorities (LEAs) to help them cover the costs of applying for the two-year IBDP accreditation-process. In fact, the examples above reveal that the funding is usually merely to cover the basic costs of applying for the accreditation process i.e. there is no long-term funding available.

The support of political 'champions'

The lack of depth of the IB programmes in the sphere of public schooling has very practical roots. It is acknowledged that 'internationalisation within local schools is a complex process that poses many challenges' (Yemini and Fulop, 2015 p.531). Barriers can occur at the institutional level, such as a lack of funding. Other barriers can occur at the individual level, such as teachers' lacking the necessary training. The latter barrier can also be *political*, and there is much evidence to show that the IB depends very heavily on garnering the support of key individual politicians or public advocates. In other words, the support can often lack political depth.

The IB's large presence in CPS comes through the support of Mayor Rahm Emanuel (Democratic Mayor of Chicago since 2011), 'who likes to tout that Chicago has more IB schools than any school district in the county' (Corfman, 2014). The huge growth in public schools in Ecuador occurred after the head of a private IB school who had 'fallen in love with the IB' became Ecuador's Minister for Education (Hill, 2011 p.123). The support of the ex-President (Rafael Correa) was also instrumental in promoting growth: 'Until the 2000s the majority of IB schools in Ecuador were private elite schools following the socio-education cleavage characteristic to South America. It was Correa's administration that changed this pattern and today IB public schools outnumber the private ones' (Resnik, 2016 p.306).

The IB in 2006 had garnered the support in the United Kingdom of Prime Minister Blair. The ultimate aim was for 124 of England's 150 LEAs, to have *one* IBDP school each (Bunnell, 2015 p.392), offering a remarkably similar story to Ecuador's first phase of growth (2006-2012). After Blair's political departure in 2006, the IB began a 'spiral of death', falling from a peak of 230 schools in November 2010 to just 110 in October 2018, of which only 33 were public schools. In 2014, the IB formed a partnership project with the King Faisal Foundation (KFF) to bring programmes to almost 40 primary and secondary schools across the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

The 'ripple-effect'

Within this framework of low-levels of funding and shallow, often unsustainable political support, the introduction of the IBDP in public schools can still act as an internal catalyst for change. Research among IB public school schools in Spain (Valle et al, 2017) revealed numerous and substantial 'secondary effects' including a 'contagious' learning environment where even the non-IB students began to undergo, for example, more extra-curricular activity even though this is not compulsory for that set of children. Overall, Valle et al (2017) noted a 'positive shift in school culture'. Referring to Thailand, it is said that: 'Implementing the IB in selected government schools, such as leading provincial schools would not only benefit those students directly but could also become a catalyst for wider changes' (Daniel Maxwell, 2015).

Here we can identify two major aims. First, the entry of the IBDP into public schools is believed to provide better opportunities at high school-level for those fortunate enough to undertake it, plus it is meant to raise the level and standard of secondary education across a nation more generally with the schools acting as show-cases of leading educational practice. This is a common theme regarding IB programmes, with the chosen public schools acting as both incubators and models of promising practice. It is said that: 'Ecuadorian state schools offer the IBDP to academic high achievers, but despite limiting the programme to select groups the IB has influenced the larger education system by providing examples of how things can be done better' (Daniel Maxwell, 2015). This point is backed by research (see Barnett, 2013).

It is said that 'the rationales underlying global education across – and even within – settings can vary considerably' (Engel and Siczek, 2017 p.2). However, one can identify a definite desire to use the IB programmes, especially the DP, as a catalyst for greater change both at a teaching and social level. Japan offers a further good example of this, in practice. In June 2012 the Japanese Ministry of Education (MEXT) announced its highly ambitious intention to 'bring the IB into the wider school system' (Kosaka, 2014) by offering a dual-language IBDP in 200 public schools by 2020; in fact, most subjects will be taught in Japanese. There were 16 IBDP schools in Japan at that point in time, of which 11 were traditional 'International Schools'.

Comment appeared in Japan saying there exists a hope that 'its internationally minded philosophy will become the talking point in the scholastic community' (Kosaka, 2014), so that this type of education 'would begin to spread to other areas of education'. In other words, MEXT is looking for a catalyst for change that will benefit the entire education system. In particular, MEXT is seeking educational initiatives that will help deliver the goal of fostering *ikiru chikara (English: Zest for Living)*, the capacity to lead a fulfilling life as an independent and productive member of society, and partly demanded as a policy response to poor OECD-PISA test results (Tasaki, 2017). In this context, Claire Maxwell (2018) seems correct to assert that 'pragmatic articulations of internationalisation predominate.'

Conclusions and discussion

At first glance, the IB seems to be a global player, and now deeply entrenched in public schooling. However, this chapter has utilised three sets of data to show the 'Skeptical Reality'. The 'geographical data' reveals quite clearly that the IB exists in public schools largely in Western, urbanised contexts, spread across a nation. The 'funding data' shows that relatively very little public money is used to implement the IBDP, and in only an ad-hoc manner. The 'exposure data' shows that each public school has few IBDP students and enters few candidates for exams in either the May and November exam sessions. This all seems to vindicate Claire Maxwell's (2018) assertion that the internationalisation of education in a stratified geographical context should *always* be viewed as a process of elite-making.

I have used three significant growth arenas (Chicago, Ecuador, and Japan) to reveal that the implementation of the IB programmes into the public schooling sphere in practice lacks depth, scope, access, funding and relies on what might become in the long-run rather flimsy political support. The mechanisms of implementation and delivery are seemingly based upon rationing direct access to

those young people (in cities) who are potentially best-situated to benefit from it whilst hoping that the implementation of the IB programmes will cause an indirect 'ripple-effect' through education in general thus giving benefits to the wider base of electorate/tax-payers. Economically this is the most cost-effective set of outcomes.

A critical observation therefore to be made with the current academic literature and dominant discourse on the topic of the 'internationalisation of public schooling' is the generalisation made about access i.e. there is normally an assumption implicit in the literature that makes it seem as though there does exist a massification process, involving *many* schools aimed at educating a *large* number of young people. For example, it is said in the context of internationalising American public schools that the process is a 'key and desirable development to cultivate globally competent citizens and benefit from the global education marketplace' (Engel and Siczek, 2018 p.26). In reality, the aim is to develop and cultivate *some/a few* globally competent citizens (i.e. it involves the formation of a discreet *cadre*). It is not, in reality, an inclusive process involving the masses, unlike access to Higher Education.

A much bigger picture now starts to emerge. There exists in practice a rather precarious process of filtering and focusing scarce resources so that only a relatively few 'globalised workers' emerges. This in turn becomes an elite and exclusive process focused on the urban elite who have the propensity to compete and work (trade) at a global level. The 'internationalisation of public schooling' is not a large-scale process aimed at the 'masses'. It becomes, in reality, merely the 'small-scale de-nationalisation of urban public schooling'.

There are several logical reasons behind this. First, national policy-making demands public schooling produces mainly 'national citizens.' Second, the demands of Global Capital can well be served by the emergence of only a small group of urbanised 'globalised workers.' Third, governments have a limited amount of monies to spend in this area and are also unwilling to spend more i.e. they are looking at high-returns for a small-investment. Fourth, governments do not engage in long-term education policy-making, they want quick returns.

I have offered a Skeptical approach, but other approaches can be developed. The Hyperglobalist approach would identify a form of neo-imperialism, (the IB being largely an English-speaking Western-Liberal-Humanistic and Global North-based educational force) yet the examples of policy-making from Japan and Ecuador show that nations, including some in the Global South are seeking an adapted form that will facilitate economic growth. They have approached the IB - it has not been imposed. The Transformationalist approach would identify a massified process of indoctrination (see Bunnell, 2012), yet my figures show that most young people remain untouched by the IB's tentacles.

At the same time, the OECD's much vaunted 'PISA' tests in 2018 included 'global competency' and the test in 2021 will include 'creativity', which could put some nations under pressure to further bring in IB programmes, alongside the IB Learner Profile and the associated attributes, skills and competencies linked with 'IM'. As noted by Engel and Siczek (2018), much of the focus in the USA is already on attaining success in such system-wide assessments. It is significant to note how on 12 December 2017 the IB Director General joined a panel discussion at the Harvard Graduate School of Education for the launch of a new 'global competence framework' developed by OECD-PISA (source: www.ibo.org). Here lays clues as to the next possible growth phase of the IB programmes in public schools, especially further growth in the USA where it already has a disproportionate share of activity.

Moreover, the advent in 2018 of the PISA 'global competency' tests, could potentially spur a broader interest in the 'internationalising' of public education, especially among developing and highly competitive nation-states in areas of the world such as South East Asia or the Gulf Region, where testing of 15-year olds in other PISA domains, since 2012, has been quite rivalrous. My 'Skeptical

Reality' framework offered in this Chapter could be useful for analysing, and discussing, the scope, depth, and geography of funding towards the goal of high-achievement in the 'global competency' and 'creativity' testing. The evidence from the growth of the IB programmes in the realm of public schooling shows that the testing will probably involve a select grouping of young people situated in urban, metropolitan/cosmopolitan settings. The scene is now set for further investigation, beyond the 'IB World'.

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